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Arizpe, E. and Ryan, S. (2018) The wordless picturebook: Challenging attitudes about literacy and language learning in multilingual contexts. In J. Bland (ed) *Teaching English with Challenging Texts: Literature in Language Education with 8-18 Year Olds*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

It is widely believed that picturebooks without words are only suitable for very young children or perhaps for children who are at an early stage of learning a new language and that this kind of text is of little use once ‘proper reading’ must be taught. However, a more careful and deeper look at what illustrators are doing in these picturebooks reveals just how aesthetically and cognitively pleasing they are and how much they can offer an audience of all ages and at all stages of reading or language learning. In addition, research has shown that complex and well-crafted wordless picturebooks demand a heightened awareness of the role of words and images and of the reader’s role in making meaning, an awareness that is crucial in developing an understanding not only of narrative but also of how ‘understanding’ itself works (Arizpe 2014; Mourão 2015; Pantaleo 2007). In this chapter, we argue that the active and conscious engagement demanded by wordless picturebooks can also be applied to thinking about the processes of language learning and about communication in general and that therefore it can have significant impact on children and young people involved in multilingual educational contexts.

Wordless picturebooks were used in the studies described in this chapter to open a space for English language learners (ELLs) to think about the role of words and pictures both in narrative and in language learning, encouraging a reflection on their own meaning-making processes on both these fronts. The readers who participated in these projects were also encouraged to reflect on the theme of communication across time, place and with those that are ‘other’. The studies are therefore inscribed within a metacognitive approach to learning and enabled the researchers to gain insights not only into experiences, beliefs and knowledge

about reading images but also about language teaching and learning processes and the contexts in which these occur. After a brief introduction to wordless picturebooks and their affordances for developing various forms of literacy, we describe the research activities and highlight findings that suggest how a pedagogical approach that uses wordless picturebooks can underpin a metacognitive approach in language learning.

Wordless picturebooks and reader engagement

In a wordless picturebook, the visual image carries the weight of the meaning but the absence of the words is significant and contributes to the overall meaning of the narrative. Many award-winning illustrators from around the world have created and received awards for their wordless picturebooks, among them, Raymond Briggs, Mitsumasa Anno, Shirley Hughes, Jerry Pinkney, Tord Nygren, Istvan Banyai, Shaun Tan and Suzy Lee. They seem to fascinate both adults and children, perhaps because we are so used to word-based narratives and because they make us wonder what we must do to make sense of a purely pictorial one.

David Wiesner has become internationally known since the triumph of his picturebooks *Tuesday* (1992), *The Three Pigs* (2002) and *Flotsam* (2006), with which he became one of only two children's illustrators who have been awarded three Caldecott Medals (and he was also runner up with *Mr Wuffles!* in 2013). His books include many postmodern features such as fragmentation, intertextuality and metafiction but also humour and irony. Not all of them are wordless but the artist's intention seems to be to create images that seize the larger portion of the readers' attention. All his picturebooks encourage close viewing and invite co-authoring but Wiesner stressed the special effect of wordless books in his first Caldecott acceptance speech:

A wordless book offers a different kind of an experience from one with text, for both the author and the reader. There is no author's voice telling the story. Each viewer reads

the book in his or her own way. The reader is an integral part of the storytelling process.

(Wiesner 1992: np)

A review of studies on wordless picturebooks concluded that it is *the degree to which readers are expected to actively engage* that marks the difference between picturebooks with and without words and which enables the reader to become a co-constructer of meaning in the transaction with these texts (Arizpe 2014). The age of the reader and their previous experience with both picturebooks and wordless picturebooks will determine how readers act on this demand. In addition, this awareness and action can change and increase through collaborative reading with peers and/or adult mediators depending on the context, the aims and the strategies used in approaching and reading the text (Mourão 2015).

It is now generally established that picturebooks can be used to develop various forms of literacy, for example they bring the aesthetic qualities of the visual image to the forefront, encouraging readers' visual literacy engagement (Arizpe, McAdam and Farrar 2017). More specifically, they help young children develop literate behavior and an understanding of literacy itself (Meek 1988; Nikolajeva 2003). As for wordless picturebooks, Arizpe (2014) noted in her review of research that they are considered an ideal medium in educational studies for investigating language acquisition, storytelling and other skills, sometimes with children with special needs.

Picturebooks, metacognitive skills and language learning

A few studies that look at response to complex picturebooks (metafictional picturebooks in particular) refer to the ways in which these texts facilitate higher order thinking because they can increase the reader's cognizance of reading and understanding as a process (Arizpe and Styles 2003, Pantaleo 2015). Having to relate two different semiotic systems focuses the perception of the complex relationship between word and image, one of the defining aspects of the picturebook (also present in other multimodal formats). Arizpe and Styles (2003) noted

examples of higher order thinking skills in the children's responses to contemporary picturebooks. Furthermore, the readers were also able to go inside their own heads to describe what they were thinking and feeling as they read the images and also as they made their own drawings in response to the picturebooks. Arizpe and Styles concluded that children's previous book and media knowledge come together with metacognitive skills when children answer questions about their expectations of a picturebook, its implied readership and their understanding of artistic techniques. This is significant, as there is ample evidence that metacognitive knowledge has a positive effect on literacy and reading comprehension (Block 2004).

In language teaching, picturebooks are often used because of the perceived simplicity and amount of words and the supportive frame provided by the pictures. More recently, they have been seen as a way of supporting not only language but also literary learning in an ELT context (Durant 2013, Bland 2013). Furthermore, the multiple interpretations which postmodern picturebooks invite are considered a good way to challenge language students' expectations of finding a single, 'correct' meaning in a text (Kern 2000; Hsiu-Chih 2008). However, once a certain stage has been reached in language teaching, wordless picturebooks are less frequently used, despite the fact that there are many skills required to make meaning that are similar to making sense of a new language.

A few educationalists have promoted the use of wordless picturebooks in the language classroom to develop skills such as the language of description; of temporal sequence and choice; of prediction, hypothesis and cause/effect; of judgement and of classification and concept formation (Early 1991: 245-246). Bland (2013) uses various picturebook examples with few or no words to illustrate their potential for English language pedagogy. She refers to the 'essential modelling status' which the teacher must take on (41) which will involve 'genuine' questions and responses. Also, she notes that questions that are more open-ended will 'encourage thinking dispositions'. Given there are no 'correct' answers, students can initiate the learning discourse themselves, shifting the balance of power in the classroom (44).

Louie and Sierschynski (2015) argue that wordless picturebooks provide opportunities for developing ‘close viewing’ that includes effective talk but also identifying narrative conventions and reading processes that they can build on for writing tasks. Their summary conclusion covers most of the main points mentioned by others:

What makes wordless picture books well-suited to ELs [English learners] is that visual texts display the literary conventions and complexity found in picture books with words [...] Because they remove the language input, wordless picture books allow ELs to share the critical experience of engaging with a visual text. The perceived freedom to participate in shared viewing of wordless picture books leads to a deeper engagement and guides the ELs to access more layers of meaning. (Louie and Sierschynski 2015: 106-107)

The challenge in David Wiesner’s wordless picturebooks

Postmodern picturebooks tend to challenge the reader through features that do not appear in more traditional picturebooks, for example, they are often non-linear; the words and pictures can tell different stories and there may be references to a variety of other texts such as film or the author’s other books. Although not all of Wiesner’s picturebooks are wordless, he does incorporate many of these features as he plays with the concepts of reality and fiction and of worlds within worlds. Even his story app, *Spot* (2015) includes characters and spaces from his picturebooks, inviting readers to construct different stories through zooming into the images. He makes reference to the world of art in *Art and Max* (2010) and different genres such as fairy tales in *The Three Pigs* (2002) and detective stories in *Tuesday* (1992). By drawing the reader’s attention to detail and the role of images in narrative, he makes them even more aware of the process they are going through as they create a story, creating pace and rhythm through varying the size and quantity of frames, interspersed with full page spreads for emphasizing dramatic moments.

Flotsam (2006), for example, tells the story of an old-fashioned, barnacle-encrusted camera that a boy finds washed up on a beach and the fantastic photographs it contains. Bright colours, unexpected angles, framing and zooming are some of the features that invite readers into discovering the fantastic world recorded by the camera on its historical and geographical travels. As we interpret the boy's gestures and movements, we share the boy's emotional reaction to his find – surprise, impatience, wonder – and enter the game with him. *Flotsam*'s ending reveals some of the camera's secret and wordless interaction between children around the world who, throughout the entire twentieth century, had sent a picture of themselves (what we could now call a 'selfie'!) to each other.

Mr Wuffles! (see Figure 10.1) appeared seven years after *Flotsam* and sends a similar message about unexpected connections and cross-cultural communication and again plays with frames, dimensions and perspective to involve the reader in the story. [Insert Figure 10.1 near here]. When their tiny spacecraft lands on earth, the visiting aliens' joy quickly turns to terror as a cat, Mr Wuffles, plays with their craft, turning it upside down and breaking a crucial piece of equipment. The aliens manage to run under a radiator behind which they discover a picture on the wall that describes the struggle between the cat and a group of insects. These same insects appear and although their language is different, the two groups manage to communicate through pictures and gestures. The ants help the aliens mend the broken device and get back into the spacecraft, which flies off before the very eyes of the cross-looking cat. The story plays on the idea of communicating through pictures rather than words but also raises the themes of intercultural or, more specifically, 'interspecies' understanding; making friends and working together for a common purpose.

ELLs reading *Flotsam* in a Scottish School

Flotsam was used in a project, Visual Journeys (2009-2012), about journeys and intercultural experiences in order to examine the visual literacy knowledge and practices of children with different cultural backgrounds (Arizpe, Colomer and Martínez-Roldán 2014). The group of

children in the upper years of primary school in Scotland (ten to eleven years old) included children, some of whom were refugees or asylum seekers, from Russia, Poland, Iraq, Congo, Afghanistan, Uganda, Pakistan and Somalia. The other wordless book used in the study was *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan, a stunning and insightful visual narrative of forced migration (for an account of the response to *The Arrival*, see Arizpe et al. 2014). The participants responded to both *Flotsam* and *The Arrival* in a variety of modes: they did a ‘walk-through’ of the picturebook page by page; annotated images from the book (see Figure 10.2); drew a ‘graphic strip’ about a journey they had taken; and took photographs. Initially developed as research tools, the strategies were also supportive in the development of literacy skills and intercultural competences (Arizpe and McAdam 2011). [\[Insert Figure 10.2 near here\]](#)

All the children were intrigued by the wordless books and what was required to ‘read’ them. During the literary discussions (8 sessions held both in pairs and in groups during the English language support lesson times), the most frequent comments made by the participants about the wordless nature of the text contained verbs that suggest the active participation stimulated by ‘reading’ the picturebooks: [you have to] ‘look’, ‘imagine’, ‘put in own words’; ‘they make you think more’; ‘you can make guesses’. Although Ali (all names are pseudonyms), a new arrival from Afghanistan, struggled to express himself, his close viewing and thinking processes are revealed as he talks about the objects on the title page:

[...] it makes me think like oh, like these things they came from China, far, far away, and then someone having might have dropped it [...]. It gave me different thought, and things like that. It makes my brain think that all these things are from far away countries, like the find the sea and they came to the beach to his hands. And I think that’s why he gotted (*sic*) all these things.

In the following extract from a group discussion, Sara (Kurdistan), Soraya (Pakistan) and Sadia (Bangladesh) speculate, prompted by the researcher (Evelyn), on why the author made

the decision to exclude words. This was their first encounter with the book and it is striking that Sara immediately mentions its potential for the classroom and how children can take ownership of the story; presumably she has noted the potential for different stories to emerge. The other girls pick up on this and echo this interest in other people's interpretations, which do not depend on what language they speak:

Evelyn: [...] why do you think the author told the story in pictures and didn't use any words?

Sara: So they could like make their own, like words [...] like the people that buy this book. They can make their own like words or the teacher might like bring [*sic*] it for the class and [...] everybody in the class does their own story.

Sadia: It wasn't using the author's words, they could use their words.

Evelyn: Do you mean using their own words to tell the story?

Soraya: Maybe the author who would make the – draw these pictures – maybe he want [*sic*] to see other people says.

[...]

Evelyn: Mm. Yes, so if there are pictures – do you think everybody can understand them then? Do you think you have to know English?

Sara: No you don't need to because you could make it in my language too. You could like change it.

This exchange also shows an awareness of the authorial process and attributes a curiosity to the author for wanting to know what other people might 'say' about his pictures. It also reveals an understanding of the transcultural linguistic potential of the picturebook.

Throughout the project, however, it became apparent that the words were still considered to have more weight than images, and readers tended to 'hang' their

interpretations on the few words that do appear, such as in the title or the back flap. This can be seen in the story that was spontaneously written by Sara about a family called ‘Flotsam’ and a boy called David. Sara proudly read us her version, which indicates the potential that wordless picturebooks can have for inviting co-authoring and inspiring the production of creative writing. Overall, the Visual Journeys project confirmed that the affordances of the wordless picturebook, along with the collective meaning making, facilitated children in thinking about language, narrative and meaning-making, in other words, they supported metacognitive awareness (Arizpe et al. 2014).

Polish students in Glasgow: local language and social contexts

The second study took place within the wider context of the doctoral research of Sadie Ryan¹, a linguist who investigates how immigrant students adopt the linguistic system of their new environment. She worked with a group of fifteen Polish secondary school ELLs (between the ages of twelve and sixteen) who all attended a school in Glasgow’s East End, an area of the city which has experienced a dramatic increase in the number of migrants entering the community in the past decade. Ryan’s research questions focus on the factors that influence the acquisition of local linguistic behaviour in an area with a strong local dialect. When migrants move to a new area and begin to adopt the local variety of that area, they don’t all do so at the same rate or in the same way. In this group of fifteen, there were some who sounded almost indistinguishable from their locally born peers within only a year or two of arrival in Glasgow, and others who still had little trace of the local accent in their speech after a much longer stay. The literature suggests that there may be extra-linguistic factors at play; there has been research into the role of social network (for example Meyerhoff and Schlee 2013), and whether having a positive attitude towards the local dialect or their new locality in general might lead to a faster and more full acquisition of local speech norms (Drummond 2011). Ryan’s initial findings suggest that extralinguistic factors, such as cultural identity and self-perception, are key for her speakers.

The young people who participated in the study were undergoing multiple processes in their new city. They were undertaking formal language instruction in the classroom to help them learn Standard English, but they were also learning about the social norms of the local variety from their peers. They were building and negotiating new sociocultural identities, as all adolescents do, but with the additional challenge of having to do so in a new country and in a new language. The school community and the wider community they live in was also negotiating a shift; from being a settled, relatively monoethnic and monolingual community a decade ago, to becoming a more multicultural community with many languages. For this reason, a group of monolingual speakers from the same secondary school was also included in the study. They were all born in Glasgow; raised as monolingual speakers of English and have been negotiating the challenges and rewards of meeting new classmates who don't (initially) share their first language.

These adolescents – both those born in Poland and those born in Glasgow – were experienced in thinking about language learning and cross-linguistic communication. The project involved recording them in conversation with the researchers Arizpe and Ryan and with each other. Questions of how we can communicate across language barriers and how we learn language are familiar to both those participants born in Poland and those born in Glasgow. In order to probe further to find what they thought about language acquisition and reading and learning through images, we decided to use *Mr Wuffles!*, which addresses the theme of languages and communication.

Opening a space for learner's voices using *Mr Wuffles!*

As mentioned above, there are few studies that include either the voices of the learners themselves talking about how learning a language works or their perceptions of resources and strategies for learning. We thought *Mr Wuffles!* would be an ideal book to open a space to discuss cultural and linguistic differences and thus promote a metalinguistic reflection on languages, images and communication.

We indicated to the group of students Sadie Ryan was working with that we were interested in how *Mr Wuffles!* could be used to teach English to young children. Semi-structured individual interviews were held with each of the fifteen Polish teenagers and the five Scottish ‘natives’. The sample questions that follow acted mainly as prompts:

Can you describe how you would go about reading the book with a younger reader, and why you would take this approach?

Do you think children would learn something from the story? What would they learn?

Do you think you can use it to teach English? Imagine you are a teacher and there are many copies of the book in the classroom, some children speak English and some not very well. What would you do?

Following a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 2012), the transcribed interviews were analysed by a coding and re-coding of the transcripts until the following recurrent themes were identified as key ones emerging from the data:

- ☐ The role of images and the (missing) words.
- ☐ Cognitive strategies that help understanding.
- ☐ The impact of language contexts on learning.
- ☐ Metacognitive strategies involved in learning a language.
- ☐ Language teaching strategies.
- ☐ The need for guidance and mediation.
- ☐ Previous reading experience.
- ☐ Identity and language learning.
- ☐ Communication and diversity.

In the following section, we refer to examples from the students' responses that touch on some of these themes and can help in exploring answers to the overall question: What and how can you learn if there are no words in a picturebook?

Lessons from aliens and insects

The lack of words initially baffled some of the students who had never seen a wordless picturebook before. Like Nikola, some of them projected their confusion on to the imaginary audience of 'wee children', speculating that they would not be able to understand it, especially as they would not be able to read the blurb at the back:

I think that that book's a little bit confusing... at the start it's, like it's *pure*² confusing, like, especially for the little ones. I don't understand anything [...] Like, you don't know what's happening to [the cat]. And, like, you don't know what's in the toy [...] If you read the back, like, you know what it is, but, the *wee* children won't read the back.

Nikola (13)

However, most of the students eventually worked out the main elements of the story and conceded that it was more complex than they had initially thought and that careful viewing was necessary for any reader.

Understanding the story involved figuring out how the aliens and the insects manage to communicate through gestures and pictures in a way that allows them to make friends and work together. [Insert Figure 10.3 near here]. This led to a reflection on the strategies and dispositions that are necessary when two different groups (in this case two different species) encounter each other. Maja asked herself questions as she worked this out while she looked at one of the images (see Figure 10.3):

I don't really get this. [Are they] trying to explain to them what happened? And then they understand there? So maybe they communicate through drawings?

[...]

So, like, there's another point, saying that you can speak [a] different language [and] you can look differently [*sic*] and you can still be friends. Maja (thirteen, born in Poland)

The ability to ask herself these questions led to a thinking aloud process through which she made sense of what was happening and this allowed her to reach her conclusion about what the story was trying to get across to readers. Based on this type of reflection, most of the students, both Polish and Scottish, concluded that one of the things readers could learn from the picturebook was, as Kinga (fifteen) succinctly put it, 'to be friends with others from different countries'.

In response to the question of whether the book could be used to teach English, again, some students were skeptical. Szymon (sixteen), for example, thought it would not qualify as a 'proper lesson' but that looking at it would be best as 'just, like, a warm-up exercise to get you thinking and then you can do other exercises to improve your English' although interestingly he specified that this activity would be beneficial in that it 'would probably get them positive thinking [*sic*] and then they can learn more'. By 'positive' he seemed to refer to an experience where reading is a 'fun' activity in contrast to some of his own previous experiences of directed language learning activities such as memorization:

[...] you're basically getting them to do what you want them to do which is learning English. Except you're not giving them, like, you're not telling them straight up. This is a more fun activity, instead of just telling them straight up [and] to give them words and tell them to learn them. I mean, come on, what kind of fun is that [...]? And this would be more interesting and get the people to, like, work on it more and stuff like that. It's a really good way of learning [...]

After talking for some time about the book and thinking about the question of teaching, some students began to describe activities that could be done with it. Zofia in particular came up with a whole range of activities. Whether she had experienced these activities before or was making them up is beside the point; the way she brings them together in the logical process of speaking, writing and presenting orally and graphically is impressive:

I would be like put them in the mixed groups. But with the people that speak English with the people [that speak a] different language. I would mix them up [...] in *wee* groups of like, say three, four people. And then give them a book to share in between. And they've to try explain to each other what they think's happening. And try, eh, like, write what they think should [be – say] on that page. And then [do a] presentation in front of the whole class what they think that should be [in the book]. So it gets their confidence up in front of the class [...] And they're communicating. And then it's like they can [...] do a *wee* book like it, like, try and make their own book. And [...] get wee stickers, and they can stick it on the books with the words they think that they're saying it. [You] could, like, translate that in different languages for each child who [speaks a] different language. And have it up on the wall. And, like, what it says. They'll know, like, what it – everybody will know what it means. And they're all familiar with a different language.

Zofia (sixteen, born in Poland)

The Scottish students who were interviewed were mostly monolingual but had to study a language in school (usually Italian or French), so they had some idea about what it meant to learn a new language. Candice (thirteen, born in Scotland) spoke in detail about her experience of informally learning languages among her friends, an experience that perhaps made her more empathetic to the way in which *Mr Wuffles!* could be used to teach English.

Her reflections include a reference to metacognitive strategies but are also based on cognitive and affective strategies related to her own experience, such as getting involved through talk, performance, guided questions and overcoming the challenges of learning new words.

Jamie also used his own reading experience of encountering a different type of text to reflect on how someone might interact with *Mr Wuffles!* He comments on his actual cognitive process of learning to read from a different direction and how it was a challenge for his brain to make this change:

They probably would get confused, but they [would] probably get the hang of it, because that's what I was like with the Manga, 'cause I opened it, then, but I didn't know where to start 'cause my brain was always just attached to, like, starting at that that side of the page first. Jamie (sixteen)

Moving forward in language learning through wordless picturebooks

Although our research questions aimed to open a space that invited meta-level thinking skills, the participants responded to this invitation and referred to metacognitive strategies for meaning-making to a level which was not expected. Many researchers agree that a learner's awareness and understanding of their cognitive processes can have a significant role in language learning and have argued that teachers should actively help learners to develop this metacognitive skill (Breen 2001, Ellis 2018, this volume). Flavell (1987) and Wenden (2001) argue, however, that this knowledge is still not fully valued or taken into account in ELT, a view confirmed by the overview of research into this area conducted by Raoofi, Heng, Swee, Jayakaran and Sabariah (2013).

Bernat and Gvozdenko note that language learners usually hold strong beliefs about 'the nature of the language under study, its difficulty, the process of its acquisition, the success of certain learning strategies, the existence of aptitude, their own expectations about achievement and teaching methodologies' (2005: 1). Moreover, these beliefs seemed to

influence what they actually do to help themselves learn. A wide range of studies, most of them quantitative and based on questionnaires, have attempted to gain insight into these beliefs and assumptions and measure this metacognitive knowledge to understand how it supports language development and performance in different contexts (e.g. Barkhuizen 1998; Narayan 2013). In the students' comments about the wordless picturebooks, it was possible to see some of these beliefs emerging in a more natural dialogic process, which allowed the researcher to delve more deeply into particular topics related to language learning – something a language teacher could also do.

Raoofi *et al.* show that there is enough evidence to conclude that metacognition can be developed through pedagogical interventions (2013: 45), thus providing a solid argument for carrying out activities in the classroom that raise learners' awareness. We realize that with the *Mr Wuffles!* task we were asking a student to construct a 'mini' lesson plan on the spot, which is not an easy task even for an experienced teacher. However, the conversations showed how the students were able to put their previous experiences (both positive and negative) as well as their subject and metacognitive and metalinguistic knowledge to good use. In a sense, they were able to do a 'task analysis' as described by Wenden, which involved thinking about the purpose of the task, being aware of the challenges the task posed and how they might approach it according to the demands, knowledge and skills and the difficulties it might present to younger children (2001: 51).

Encouraging learners to think about their language learning process allows them to firstly consider the beliefs and assumptions they have about the language in question. It can then help them make decisions about planning, selecting strategies and assessing their learning in ways that accord with their individual needs and abilities. Thinking about learning strategies in relation to different aspects of language learning (reading, writing, speaking) can help understand which may need more work, how different resources (including literary texts) and approaches could work, leading to more effective learning strategies.

In conclusion, the empirical research referred to here, strongly suggests that meeting the challenge of the wordless picturebook is more than worthwhile in language learning because it provides the opportunity to develop metacognitive strategies and metalinguistic thinking. Nikolajeva's work (2014) on cognitive literary theory and reading supports this line of enquiry because, as she argues, literary texts interact with cognition to provide readers with knowledge of the world, of other people and of themselves. In other words, the emotions provoked by words and images expand cognitive abilities, especially those of developing readers (2014: 227) and foster Theory of Mind or the ability to understand the mental states of others (Colman 2016). Wordless picturebooks can thus provide a space for student reflection on the learning process but also, perhaps more importantly, on beliefs and assumptions about language and communication. This space can be easily opened by the adults who select and mediate texts, whether it is in the home or the classroom, no matter what the age of the readers. However, further research is required on how teachers can best mediate these texts in an ELT classroom and on how the wordless picturebook links to language acquisition, intercultural learning and cultural identity in ways that enable discussion around diversity and inclusion within these and other language-learning spaces. What seems clear is that the contemporary wordless picturebook can provoke significant questions about reading and learning as well as help to transform attitudes in multilingual contexts about intercultural communication and therefore to challenge linguistic discrimination, Othering and exclusion.

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² *Pure* is used as an intensifier in Glasgow; it is roughly equivalent to *really*.